

A ^T
COLLECTION

OF

C A T O's^k
Political Letters

IN THE

LONDON JOURNAL,

TO

DECEMBER 17, inclusive, 1720.

O Liberty! O Virtue! O my Country!
CATO.

THE SECOND EDITION; with a New PREFACE.

L O N D O N :


Printed for J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*,
M.DCC.XXI.



11-



THE
PUBLISHER
TO THE
READER.

 *THESE Letters, which were not written to please any Party, have pleas'd all Parties; tho' perhaps the Leaders of none. And, indeed, Writers, who are detach'd from all Parties, are the properest Persons to do Justice to all. There is no honest Man can defend any Party in all Particulars; because every Party does, in many Particulars, play the Knave. For my self, whenever I see any Man, let his Figure and Name be what they will, going*
A 2 *into*

into all the Steps of his Party, and vindicating all their Proceedings, I am fill'd with Pity for him; since every one who is thoroughly despicable, is thoroughly miserable: It is the Office of a Slave, who breathes improperly English Air; That of the Tuilleries or of the Divan, would suit him better.

I do not think, that the strongest Treatise upon the Liberty of the Press could so well shew its great Importance to Civil Liberty, as the universal good Reception of these Papers has done. The Freedom with which they are written, has been encourag'd and applauded even by those, who, in other Instances, are Enemies to all Freedom: But all Men love Liberty for themselves; and whoever contends for Slavery, would still preserve himself from the Effects of it: Pride and Interest sway him, and he is only hard-hearted to all the rest of the World.

The Patrons of Passive Obedience would do well to consider this, or allow others to consider it for them: These Gentlemen have never fail'd, upon every Occasion of Trial, effectually to shew that their Patience was nothing increas'd by their Principles, and that they always, very humanly, excluded themselves from the Consequences of their own Doctrine: Whatever their Speculations have been, their Practices

Practices have strongly preach'd, that no Man will suffer Injustice and Violence, when he can help himself.

Let us, therefore, without regarding the ridiculous, narrow, and dishonest Notions of selfish Men, who say and do contrary things, make Liberty the Interest, as 'tis certainly the Right, of all Mankind; and brand those as Enemies to human Society, who are Enemies to equal and impartial Liberty.

Men, when not bias'd by present Gain, or the present Hopes of Gain, are naturally Honest. But alas, how little is the Security which accrues from the natural Honesty of Men! How quickly, how easily are they made Knaves! We could never believe, did we not daily see, what poor Considerations sway them, and with what sorry Baits they are drawn from Uprightness to Wickedness, and from honest Purposes to the vilest Devices. Is thy Servant a Dog, that he should do these things? is the Speech of every Man to himself, when he thinks of Rogueries which he has no present Temptation or Opportunity to commit.

Men are blinded by a present Advantage; and this is the Reason why they can seldom be brought to see Evils to come, even when the Causes and Fore-runners

runners of those Evils do, as it were, already stare them in the Face. Such Men must feel before they perceive, and their Eye-sight returns too late. Esau, in whose Character there seems to be as much Folly as Wickedness, was not to blame more than others have been since, when he sold his Birthright for Porridge — I had almost said, for a Pension. He was content to be a Slave for a Belly-full; but the Belly-full was in hand-paid, and the Slavery was to come.

It is a melancholly Consideration, that there are many Men, who, tho' they spend Hundreds upon Harlots and other Pleasures, yet would not part with ten Pounds to the Publick to save a Million to the Publick; and would, for five hundred Pounds to themselves, give their Consent to plunder the Nation of twice as many Millions: So potent is Avarice, and the Love of Luxury amongst Men, and so feeble the Love of Liberty and of their Country!

If our publick Debts amount to near sixty Millions, as I fear they are not much less; and if the whole Value of all the Lands in England amounts to two hundred Millions, as I doubt it comes not to more; Then, considering that the greatest Weight of these Debts lies upon the Land-
ed Interest, every Man (worth 20000 l.)
who

who in Consideration of five hundred Pounds enters into Measures which tend to increase the Debts, or (which is the same thing) to postpone the Payment of the Debts, does, by so doing, stake a large Part of his Fortune against so poor a Consideration, and probably risques his whole Fortune. So that besides the cruel Crime of giving up publick Liberty, and the publick Interest, he commits an unnatural one against himself, his Family, and his Posterity. O Gold, destructive Gold, how dost thou blind the Minds of Men, as well as dazzle their Sight! If our Debts continue, how will Liberty be preserv'd? And if our Liberties are lost, our Estates must follow them.—Good God, what Shortness of Sight, and Hardness of Heart prevail amongst us!

Hence it is, that there's so few who will either represent or oppose publick Evils: They either get by them, or expect to get from the Authors of them; and hence too proceeds the great Safety of playing the Knave. There is doubtless at this time great Light and Understanding in this Nation, and many are capable of writing the following Letters: But Light and Understanding signify nothing, when there is neither Courage nor Honesty to use them.—We are easily caught by the thin Arts of Knaves, who, having stript us to the Skin, would put out our Eyes to conceal who did it. But

But, blessed be God, the Nation is awaken'd, in spight of all Arts to lay asleep the Sense and Resentment of its Miseries. This is a Pleasure to every honest Man, and doubtless to the Author or Authors of these Papers; who seem to feel what they write, and to have, for their uppermost Passion, a warm Love to Mankind. The publick Honour and Felicity appear their highest Ambition; and without seeking Applause, they serve their Country in secret.

Who they are, I can only guess, as the Town does, and perhaps with as little Certainty. They came to my Hands by such Means, as make it impossible for me to know from whence they came; nor would any Inquiry of mine, on this Occasion, be either prudent, grateful, or well-bred.





A
COLLECTION
OF THE
Political Letters
IN THE
LONDON JOURNAL.

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

O^r. 8. 1720.



S I have heard, with Concern, the Report of our being in Danger of losing *Gibraltar*, lately reviv'd; so I had no small Pleasure to see, in the Generality of the People, a just Sense of the great Importance of that Place to the Trade and Security of *England*.

All Men, in Truth, shew their Opinion of it, by the Fears they express about it; and if we set aside

B

(as

(as unworthy of mention) a few *prostitute Hirelings*, who go about Coffee-Houses to drop, as far as they dare, stupid and villanous Reasons for giving it up; I say, excepting such a contemptible few; I defy those, who for vile Ends, or to make good vile Bargains, would gladly have it surrender'd, to pick out of all the People of *England*, One honest, rational, and disinterested Man to concur with them in it.

Thank God, in Spite of the Folly of *Parties*, and the Arts of *Betrayers*, we see in all Men a steady, warm, and unanimous Spirit for the Preservation of *Gibraltar*; and I hope to see shortly the Time when we shall, with the same Frankness and Unity, exercise our Reason and our Eyesight in other Matters, in which we are at present misled, either by Infatuation or false Interest.

There are two Things which surprize me in the many Apprehensions we have had about *Gibraltar*: The first is, the great Diffidence manifested by such Fears: Men must be far gone in Distrust, before they could come to suspect, that their Superiors could ever grow so much as indifferent about a Place of such Consequence to their Country; and to suppose them capable of giving it up, is to suppose them capable of giving up *Portsmouth*, nay, *England* it self. Such Suppositions must therefore be unjust, and the Height of Ignorance or Spleen. Can it be imagined, that Men of Honour would forfeit their Reputation, Patriots sacrifice a Bulwark of their Country, or wise Men venture their Heads, by such a traitterous, shameful and dangerous Step?

But, say some, perhaps it will be *suffer'd* to be taken by *Surprise*, and then all the Blame will only rest upon some obscure Officer, who may easily be given up or kept out of the way, while those who contriv'd the Roguery, and felt the Reward of it, will be as loud in their Resentments, as others who love their Country well enough to grieve for its Disgrace or its Losses.

I know, indeed, all this has been said more than once, and some plausible Circumstances urg'd, to
shew

shew that it was not absolutely groundless. But, alas, what a poor Plot would here be ! A Farce of Treachery and Nonsense, visible to the weakest of Mankind, and only fit to raise Hatred and Contempt towards the wretched Framers of it ; This would be to deal with us, as with a Nation of Idiots, blind and insensible, who can neither see Day-light, nor feel Injuries, nor return insolent Usage. No, no, we are not as yet to be hoodwink'd by such thin Schemes : We can ask, if need were, a few plain Questions, which would easily puzzle such feeble Politicians ; but at present we have no Occasion.

All this, however, shews, how much we are apt to suspect foul Play in this, and many other Cases of the like Nature ; nor shall I now maliciously enquire, to what prevailing Cause such Distrust is to be ascrib'd.

Another thing at which I am apt to wonder is, that considering how much our Credit is concern'd to clear our selves from the Charge of any base Purpose, of being willing that *Gibraltar* should be given away, we have not yet done it, at least in any publick and satisfactory Manner. The mistaken People will say, and have said, that our Silence is a Confession of our Guilt ; and that if their Censures and Suppositions had not been just, it was in our Power publickly to have confuted and remov'd them ; neither of which we have done, but suffer'd *them* to remain under painful Fears, and *our selves* under the Suspicion of neither regarding their Intèrest, nor their Ease, nor our own Credit.

Why did you not, say they, tell all the World how much you were wrong'd, and bely'd in a Declaration, said to be the *Regent's of France*, which expressly asserted, that a Bargain was made to give away *Gibraltar* ? Why did you not demonstrate, that you were at least as willing to preserve your own Towns, as to conquer Countries for other People, who are remarkable for doing you as little Service as they possibly can ? Why did you suffer it to be

suggested with the least Colour of Probability, that you would rather throw away what was your own, than not procure for *Foreign Allies* at your Expence, what was none of theirs? Why do we fight, why conquer, if we must thus condescend to implore the Vanquish'd, graciously to grant Peace to us the *Conquerors*, for which we will humbly pay them with Part of our Dominions? And how came *Foreign States*, *most of them Slaves*, to be more in your Favour, than *old England*, which is a Nursery of Freemen?

All these are malicious Questions, tho' I hope groundless; but as they are propos'd by many thousands of his Majesty's Liege Subjects, in a modest and serious Way, methinks it would be a seasonable Piece of Discretion and good Policy, to prove them groundless.

For *God's sake* let us answer, if we can answer; and if our Innocence is to be shewn, as no doubt it is, let it be shewn; it will not even be enough, that *Gibraltar* is never given up, but we ought to purge our selves from the Imputation of ever having entertain'd so criminal an Intention. If we can do this, it will recover us some Part of the Credit and Confidence we have lost by not doing of it. I therefore hope, and humbly propose, that we may soon see some able and sagacious Pen, instead of making *Odes* for us, make *Apologies* for us; which *Heaven of its infinite Mercy grant*, &c.

In the mean time, permit me to give here three unanswerable Reasons why *Gibraltar* cannot either be given up or taken:

First, because *Secretary Grimaldo* says it.

Secondly, it would make *South-Sea Stock* fall; and

Thirdly and lastly, We have wise and honest Governours.

I am, Sir, your humble Servant,

CATO.

To

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

Nov. 12. 1720.

THE terrible Circumstance of our *French* Neighbours, under the Plague in some Places, expecting it in others, and dreading it in all, is a loud Warning to us, to take all Expedients and possible Precautions against such a formidable Calamity.

We have already had, and still have, a Contagion of another Sort, more universal, and less merciful, than that at MARSEILLES: The latter has destroy'd, we are told, about sixty thousand Lives; ours has done worse, it has render'd a much greater Number of Lives miserable, who want but the Sickness to finish their Calamity; either by rendring it complete, or by putting an end to them and that together.

Indeed, had the Alternative been offer'd us, half a Year ago, I think it would have been a Symptom of Wisdom in us, to have chosen rather to fall by the Hand of God, than by the execrable Arts of Stock-Jobbers: That we are fallen, is a sorrowful Truth, not only visible in every Face you meet, but in the Destruction of our Trade, the Glory and Riches of our Nation, and the Livelihood of the Poor.

But *Complaining* does not mend the Matter; and yet what sensible Heart can avoid *Complaining*, when he hears his dear Country, a whole Country, a potent Nation, a Nation happy in its Climate, in its Prince, and in its Laws, groaning under mighty Evils, brought upon it by mean and contemptible Hands, and apprehending Evils still more mighty? This gives Bitterness to a human Spirit, tho' it suffers no otherwise than by Sympathy: Is there no way left of doing our selves Justice, and has the Death of our Prosperity extinguish'd all Sense of our Injuries?

'Tis true, it is both prudent and religious in private Persons, to stifle the Notions of Revenge, and calmly

calmly to expect Reparation from God and the Law : But *Jealousy* and *Revenge*, in a whole People, when they are abus'd, are laudable and politick Virtues ; without which they will never thrive, never be esteem'd. How far they are to carry their Resentments, I do not pronounce : The Measures of it must be determin'd by Circumstances ; but still, keen Resentment ought to be shewn, or some Punishment, or Punishments, inflicted : When the Dignity, or Interest, of a Nation is at Stake, *Mercy* may be *Cruelty*.

To this Spirit of *Jealousy* and *Revenge*, was formerly the *Roman* Commonwealth beholden for the long Preservation of its Liberty ; and, since, the *Venetian* Commonwealth owes its Preservation to the same Spirit ; and Liberty will never subsist long where this Spirit is not : For if any Crimes against the Publick may be committed with Impunity, Men will be tempted to commit the greatest of all ; I mean, that of making themselves Masters of the State ; and where Liberty ends in Servitude, it is owing to this Neglect. *Cesar* thought he might do what he had seen *Marius* and *Sylla* do before him, and so enslave his Country ; Whereas, had the Two first been hang'd, the Third would, perhaps, never have been.

I bring these Examples to prove that Nations should be quick in their Resentments, and severe in their Judgments. As never Nation was more abus'd than ours has been of late by the *Dirty Race* of *Money-Changers* ; so never Nation could, with a better *Grace*, more *Justice*, or greater *Security*, take its full Vengeance, than ours can, upon its detested *Eoes*. Sometimes the *Greatness* and *Popularity* of the Offenders make *strict Justice* unadvisable, because unsafe ; but here it is not so ; you may, at present, load all the Gallowses (in *England*) with *DICTATORS*, and *Stock-Jobbers*, without the Assistance of a *Sheriff's Guard*, or so much as a *Sigh* from an Old Woman, tho' accusom'd perhaps to shed Tears at the untimely Demise of a common Felon or Murderer.

A thousand *Stock-Jobbers*, well *truss'd up*, beside the diverting Sight, would be a cheap Sacrifice to the *Manes* of Trade; and one certain Expedient to soften the Rage of the People; and to convince them, that the future *Direction* of their Wealth and Estates shall be put in the Hands of those, who will as effectually study to promote the General Benefit and Publick Good, as others have, lately, most *infamously* sacrificed Both to their own *private Advantage*. Something is certainly due to both the former. The Resurrection of Honesty and Industry can never be hop'd for, while this Sort of *Vermin* is suffer'd to crawl about, tainting our Air, and putting every thing out of Course; subsisting by Lies, and practising vile Tricks, low in their Nature, and mischievous in their Consequences.

That a Multitude of Families are ruin'd, and suddenly sunk from plentiful Circumstances to abject Poverty, is affecting and lamentable; tho' perhaps all owing to their own rash Confidence in the Management of *known Knaves*: That innocent Children, born, as they imagined, to fair Fortunes, and brought up accordingly, must now want Bread, or beg it, is a *Catastrophe* that must pierce every tender Heart, and produce Pity and Tears: But to see one's Country labouring under all the sad Symptoms of Distress, without the Violence of War, without the diabolical Refinements of able Politicians; but purely from the *Dull Cunning* of inferior Rogues, void of Bravery, void of Abilities; Wretches that would run away in the Field, and be despised in Assemblies; this is what should turn *Pity* into *Rage*, and *Grief* into *Vengeance*.

For a Nation to suffer it self to be ill used, is of dangerous Example; whether those that use it ill be its *Neighbours* or its *Natives*: Patience, in this Case, invites fresh Injuries; and that People, who would not bear many unjust Burthens, must not bear one.

A Country, as I said above, ought to do it self Justice with Speed, as well as with Vigour: Delay
has

has often render'd a Cure impossible in the Body Politick, as well as in Human Bodies: By Delays, the Edge of Resentment goes off, and the Offender has Leisure to fortify himself by new Rogueries.

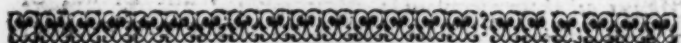
I would therefore have my Countrymen take Advantage of the Humour they are in, and make a Virtue of their present Anger, Let them rouse the Bold Spirit of a free Nation; and shew, by all Lawful and Loyal Means, that they, who always scorned to be the Property of TYRANTS, will not be the Prey of STOCK-JOBBERS.

I am, SIR,

My Country's,

And Your's,

CATO.



To the Author of the London Journal.

SIR,

Nov. 19, 1720.

A Man robb'd in his House or on the Highway, receives from the Law all possible Satisfaction: He has the Restitution of his Goods again, where it can be made; and he has the Life of the Offender, if he can be apprehended; and then there is a plentiful Reward given for every such Apprehension. By this salutary Method, Vengeance is at once taken for the Crime committed, and a terrible Example made of its Author, to prevent its Repetition.

The Law is the great Rule in every Country, at least in every free Country, by which private Property is ascertained, and the Publick Good, which is the

the great End of all Laws, is secured; and the religious Observance of this Rule, is what alone makes the Difference between good Laws and none. The Terrour and Sanctity of the Laws, are shewn by the Execution of them; and to a Contempt of the Laws, or to a direct dispensing with them, have been owing most of the Shocks and Revolutions, that we have, for many Ages, sustain'd in *England*.

Some Laws are, indeed, unwarily made, being procured by Passion, Craft, or Surprize; but such are generally either suffered to wax *obsolete*, or are repealed, as we have seen in many Instances, *and may yet see in more*.

But, I speak here of those Laws which have a direct and known Tendency to secure to us what we have, and to preserve us what we are: A free People are kept so, by no other Means, but an equal Distribution of Property; every Man, who has a Share of Property, having a proportionable Share of Power; and the first Seeds of *Anarchy*, which, for the most part, ends in *Tyranny*, are produced from hence, that some are *ungovernably rich*, and many more *miserably poor*; that is, some are Masters of all the *Means of Oppression*, and others want all the *Means of Self-defence*.

What Progress we have lately made in *England*, towards such a *blessed State* of Confusion and Misery, by the Credulity of the People, throwing their All upon the Mercy of *base-spirited, hard-hearted VILLAINS*, *mischievously trusted* with a Power to undo them, is too manifest from the woful Condition we are in: The Ruin is general, and every Man has the miserable Consolation to see his Neighbour undone; for as to that *Class of Ravens*, whose Wealth has cost the Nation its *All*, as they are *manifest Enemies to God and Man*, no Man can call them his Neighbours; they are *Rogues of Prey*, they are *Stock-Jobbers*, they are a Conspiracy of *Stock-Jobbers*: A Name which carries along with it such a detestable deadly Image, that it exceeds all human Invention to aggravate it; nor can Nature,

with all her Variety and Stories, furnish out any Thing to illustrate its Deformities by; nay, it gains visible Advantage by the worst Comparisons you can make; Your Terrour lessens, when you liken them to *Crocodiles* and *Cannibals*, who feed, for *Hunger*, on humane Bodies.

These Monsters, therefore, stand single in the Creation: They are *Stock-Jobbers*; they have serv'd a whole People, as *Satan* serv'd *Job*; and so far the Devil is injur'd, by any Analogy you can make between him and them.

Well; but Monsters as they are, what would you do with them? The Answer is short and at hand, *Hang them*; for whatever they deserve, I would have no new Tortures invented, nor any new Death devised. In this, I think, I shew Moderation; let them only be *hang'd*, but *hang'd speedily*. As to their *Wealth*, as it is the *manifest Plunder* of the People, let it be restor'd to the *People*, and let the Publick be their Heirs: The only Method by which the Publick is ever like to get *Millions* by them, or indeed any thing.

But, say some, when did you ever see Rogues, cover'd with Wealth, brought to the Ax or the Gallows? I own the Example is rare, more is the Shame of this Nation, which has had such rich Temptations, and such frequent Opportunities; we have had publick Guilt in abundance, *God knows*, often protected by *Party*, and often by *Money*. *Faction* on one side, and *Riches* on the other, have, as it were, made a *Lane* for great Criminals to escape. But all these Escapes, which are, indeed, our Reproach, cannot give any Ground to fear a present one.

This Nation has formerly been bought and sold; but Arts were us'd to blind the Peoples Eyes, and the Effects of the Treachery were not immediately felt; and we know that the Resentment of the Vulgar never follows from their *Understanding*, or their *Reflection*, but from their *Feeling*: A Pick-pocket may tickle a plain Fellow's Ear, till he has got his Purse,

Purse; but if he *feels* it going, he will knock the Thief down.

We have felt our Pockets pick'd, and we know who have done it: *Vengeance abides them*. I am told, some of them *have the Face to pretend*, that they ought not to be put to Death; but we hope the Legislature will *effectually* convince them, that this their Partiality to themselves is groundless: All their Hopes of Safety must consist in their Money; and without Question, they will try to make the Wages of their Villany protect their Villany. But I cannot see how any Sums can save them; for as they have robb'd and cheated all Men, *except their Accomplices*, so all Men are concern'd to see Justice done to themselves; and if the ordinary Channels of Justice could be stopp'd by Bags of Money, or by Partnership in original Guilt, *which Evil we do not apprehend*, the enrag'd, the abus'd People, might be prompted by their uppermost Passion, and having their Resentment heighten'd by Disappointment, might, *it is to be fear'd*, have recourse to *extraordinary Ways*; Ways that are often *successful*, tho' never *justifiable*.

Here are no Parties in this Case to disguise Truth, and obstruct Justice; the Calamity is general, and so is the Resentment: All are *Sufferers*; All will be *Prosecutors*. The Cry for Justice is loud and united; if it be baulk'd, I can prophesy no good from so cruel an Omission.

If this mighty, this destructive Guilt, were to find Impunity, nothing remains, but that every Villain, of a daring, or avaricious Spirit, may grow a Great Rogue, in order to be a great Man: When a People can no longer expect Redress of publick and heavy Evils, nor Satisfaction from publick and bitter Injuries, hideous is the Prospect they have before them. If they will tamely suffer a Fall from Plenty to Beggary, they may soon expect another, and a worse, from that to Slavery: *But I hope better things of England*.

I have

I have before my Eyes a wise beneficent Prince, a generous and publick-spirited Parliament, an able disinterested Ministry; all contending with each other for the Wealth, the Glory, the Liberty of their Country: And I have before my Eyes a brave and honest People, Lovers of Trade and Industry, free of their Money, and well deserving of the Legislature, passionate for Liberty, and Haters of Chains; but deluded, drain'd of their Money, and abus'd beyond Patience, beyond Expression, by mean Sharpers, that swagger in the Plunder of their Country.

Where therefore there is so much Capacity, and there are so many good Dispositions to help us on one Side; such loud and melancholy Calls, for that Help, on another Side; and such open, such execrable, such publick Crimes from a third Quarter; we may hope every thing from the speedy Meeting of the King and Parliament. They are our PROTECTORS, and we trust they do not bear the Sword in vain.

I doubt not but many Schemes will be laid before them, some of them design'd for a Source of new Rogueries, and to prevent Enquiries into the old ones. It shall be the Business therefore of this Paper, to watch and examine such Schemes; and to condemn them, or recommend them, just as they deserve.

I have, you see, taken the Guilt of our Traytors for granted, as I think all Men do: But because they shall have all fair Play, I undertake hereafter, if it is found necessary, to *prove it*, by an Induction of Particulars. And I will promise them, out of the great Love I bear them, that as long as I continue to send you these Letters, and you to publish them, they shall find in them something of more Weight, than in the poor and feeble Jest of common News Writers.

I am, SIR,

Your Humble Servant,

CATO.

To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

Nov. 26. 1720.



ALL Men are now taught, by miserable Experience, that the Project of the *South-Sea*, through the hard-hearted Knavery of some, who have been in the Direction of it; and through the Folly, or rather Distraction of the People, has not answer'd the good and wise Ends design'd by the Parliament, but instead of that has ruin'd Thousands of innocent and well-meaning People, to glut *Harpies* and *Publick Robbers* with Millions: *Unhappy Fate of poor England, worthy of a better! For This*, Trade has been neglected: *For This*, Industry discourag'd: *For This*, Honesty abandon'd: *For This*, Credit undone, and all that *Stock-Jobbers* might make Fortunes, and small Sharpers grow mighty Men.

Every one, therefore, seems to agree, that something is necessary to be done, in a legal Way, to restore, once more, our Publick Credit. But it is hop'd we are far from consenting that any Thing ought to be done to repair the Losses occasion'd by Folly and Covetousness, out of the Estates of those, who always foresaw, and always oppos'd this mighty Mischief, much less at the further Expence of the Honour and Trade of the Nation.

To set this Matter in a due Light, it is necessary to enquire what is meant by the Publick Credit of the Nation,

First, Credit may be said to run high, when the Commodities of a Nation find a ready Vent, and are sold at a good Price; and when Dealers may be safely trusted with them, with a reasonable Assurance of being paid.

Secondly, When Lands and Houses find ready Purchasers

D

and

and when Money is to be borrow'd at low Interest, in order to carry on Trade and Manufacture, at such Rates, as may enable us to under-sell our Neighbours.

Thirdly, When People think it safe and advantageous to venture large Stocks in Trade and Dealing, and do not lock up their Money in Chests, or hide it under-ground. And,

Fourthly, When Notes, Mortgages, and Publick and Private Security will pass for Money, or easily procure Money, by selling for as much Silver and Gold as they are Security for ; which can never happen, but upon a Presumption, that the same Money may be had for them again.

In all these Cases, 'tis abundantly the Interest of a Nation, to promote Credit and Mutual Confidence; and the only possible Way in Nature, effectually to do this, is to maintain *Publick Honour* and *Honesty* ; to provide ready Remedies for private *Injustice* and *Oppression*, and to protect the Innocent and Helpless from being devour'd by Fraud and Rapine.

But National Credit can never be supported by lending Money without Security, or drawing in other People to do so ; by raising Stocks and Commodities, by Artifice and Fraud, to unnatural and imaginary Values ; and consequently delivering up helpless Women and Orphans, and the ignorant and unwary, but *industrious Subject*, to be devour'd by *Pickpockets* and *Stock-jobbers* : A sort of Vermin that are bred and nourish'd in the Corruption of a State.

This is a Method, which, instead of preserving Publick Credit, destroys all Property, turns the Stock and Wealth of a Nation out of its proper Channels, and instead of nourishing the Body Politick, produces only *Ulcers*, *Eruptions*, and often *Epidemical Plague-Sores*. It starves the Poor, destroys Manufactures, ruins our Navigation, and raises Insurrections, &c.

The first Loss is always the least ; one half of the Nation is ruin'd already ; I hope we may learn Wit from our Misfortunes, and save the other half : In order to this, we may expect, that no new Projects will be countenanc'd or receiv'd, which have any tendency to prejudice Trade, or which cause Monopolies,

lies, or set up exclusive Companies; and that no Privileges or Advantages be granted, for which ready Money might be got.

Some People have the Assurance to publish it; for Example, That a certain set of *Stock-jobbers*, whose Faith and Modesty are now well known and felt, expect, among other Gifts, from the Publick, that the Island of *St. Christophers* should be given them, *as a further Expedient to get more Wealth to themselves, and leave the Nation none*. Now, *St. Christophers* is worth *three hundred thousand Pounds Sterling*, and will yield so much: So that to present them with this Island, would be just making them a Present of *three hundred thousand Pounds*; a Sum almost sufficient to make the Fortune of an *Under South-Sea Clerk*; but such a Sum as this poor Nation cannot, at present spare.

I hope, therefore, that it will no longer be impudently alledg'd, that by parting with such Gifts, we lose nothing; since that alone is worth nothing, for which nothing can be got: But the Case is otherwise here; and from the Nature of our publick Gaming, and the Spirit of the worthy Sharpers who direct it, I dare pronounce before-hand, that every Scheme that they themselves propose, to make their Bubble and their Roguery thrive again, will still be built upon the further Expence, and further Loss and Misery of these unhappy Nations.

If our Money is gone, *thank God*, our Eyes are left; and sharpen'd by Experience and Adverities, we can see through Disguises, and will be no more amaz'd with Moon-shine.

The Nation and Parliament has been abus'd, and they will undoubtedly be reveng'd: they will not be put off with dark Juggling, and knavish Projects, to stifle Resentments, and divert due Vengeance: There's no attending to any new Schemes, till the *Publick Robbers* are punish'd, with whom there can never be any Accommodation.

To begin then, in the first Place, with the Criminals, will shew that we are in earnest, Champions for Honesty, for Trade, and for the Nation, all oppress-

fed by *Money-Leaches* : All other Remedies may be but Mountebank Remedies : It would be Madness to concert new Schemes, liable to new Abuses, without first doing Justice to the *Abusers* of the old ; Impunity for past Crimes is a Warrant to commit more, especially when they are gainful.

Such mighty Mischiefs as these Men have done, will be but meanly attoned for, by such infamous Lives, unless their Estates are also confiscated ; and even these, *great as they are*, will repair but Part of our Misfortunes. But what we can have of them, let us have ; their Necks and their Money.

To begin with any other Project, they will take for a Confession, that there is a Design to save them ; and to what that must be owing, we all know ; and what further Evils it may produce, may even surpass our Fears, tho' already terribly great : But a Method of Justice presently enter'd upon, and impartially carry'd thro, will give us Patience under our Burdens, banish all our Fears, give Credit to the publick Proceedings, and restore Hope to the almost despairing People.

I am, SIR,

Your humble Servant,

C A T O.



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

Dec. 3. 1720.



HIS great Nation, undone by despicable *Stock-Jobbers* and their *Abettors*, has hitherto quietly groan'd under the merciless Hands of its Pillagers, and liv'd for some Months upon the pure Hopes of *Redress*. We look'd towards the Parliament : *His Majesty and his Ministry being absent, and busy'd with the Affairs of this Kingdom abroad* and

and in the glorious Aims of settling the Peace of Europe, and strengthening the Protestant Interest.

The first Part of our Hopes is now almost accomplish'd, the Parliament are just upon meeting, and never, sure, did any Session open with greater Expectation, or more to do : Every Thing is turn'd *Topsy Turvy* ; and the Nation thrown into Convulsions, is waiting for the healing Hand of its *Representatives*.

Many Expedients will, no Doubt, be offer'd *without Doors* ; calculated, in Appearance, to improve the Stock ; but, in Reality, design'd to save the *DIRECTORS*. This is to begin at the wrong End. To pretend to form Schemes for the encreasing of *Credit*, before the *Destroyers*, the *Cannibals* of Credit, are honestly and openly hung up to its *Manes*, is, in some Sort, to confess, that we had our Instructions and Politics from the Criminals themselves ; *and our best and only Reasons out of their Purses.*

Or if we are not thus wicked, we would, at best, be miserably weak to fall into such a preposterous Method ; and whether great and general Calamities have their Root in *Roguary* or *Folly*, is all one to a Nation.

In Spight of all the Remedies that can be apply'd, Multitudes will still remain undone beyond all Remedy : Nay, for ought I can see, there is no practical Remedy at all for what is past, so effectual has been the *Roguary* on one Side, and so rivetted is the Ruin on the other.

All therefore, that seems to me to be left, even to the united Wisdom of *Great Britain*, is the *Cure of Prevention*, to stop the Progress of the Contagion, to take Care that those which have already suffer'd, shall suffer no more, nor make new Sufferers : It is certain that all Men have suffer'd in some Sense or other, *the Criminals excepted*. It is hop'd that the miserable People will now be honour'd with *Their* good Company ; and that *the Box on the Ear*, which wantonly began from them, will in good Earnest be returned to them, and end with them. It is some Consolation to the Inhabitants of a Village, who have been bit all round by a mad Dog, to see the *DIRECTOR* of the Poy-
son

son, and the Author of their Pain and Danger, honestly hung up, or knock'd on the Head.

The prevailing Woe which has long rag'd, and still sits hard and heavy upon us, has certainly some Authors, and the DIRECTORS are generally taken to be these Authors ; and if they are duly and publickly punish'd, they will continue to be taken for the *only Authors*. But if there is nothing done to them, or nothing effectually done to them, we shall naturally look further, and make bold to know, that tho' they have been Rogues, yet that others have been greater than they, that others have *directed* the DIRECTORS and were Partners in the Spoil.

But if they stand single, and are found the *only* and *original* Plunderers of their Country, they will infallibly be given up to publick and crying Vengeance ; not only by the Rules of Guilt, but of good Policy : a more popular Thing cannot be done, nor indeed so popular a Thing. The Blessings of the People, and the universal Affections of *Great Britain*, will be some of the Rewards attending upon those, who will be the generous Authors of publick Justice, upon the detestable Authors of publick and intense Misery.

I will never suppose that any Men, or even one Man in any publick Station, did by any Means *join* with *Stock-Jobbers* to undo their Country ; much less *enabled Stock-Jobbers* to undo their Country ; and supported them while they were about it. It would be melancholy and terrible, indeed, to imagine that any publick Men, at least, any Man concern'd in the *Finances*, or set over any Part of the publick Money, by which publick Credit is circulated and sustain'd, should, in Defiance of his publick Trust, put himself at the Head of a Conspiracy of Stock-Jobbers, who were with merciless and unclean Hands rifling the Publick itself, ingrossing all it's Wealth, and destroying, at once, all publick and private Faith.

Such unprecedented Treachery, such overgrown Guilt, can never be suppos'd. Our Corruptions cannot be yet become so bold and bare-fac'd, nor we so tame. The Thing, therefore, by being so very monstrous, must be impossible, whatsoever Suggestions there

there may be to the contrary; which, were they true, could not fail of calling down double and conspicuous Punishment upon such a *Verres*.

As to those, who lately encouraged a Scheme, out of an honest Purpose to relieve the publick, and pay off its Debts, they ought, and, no Doubt, will be the first and the most active to revenge the Publick upon those, who, instead of relieving it, have brought the publick into such doleful and dying Distress.

By this, they will further evince the Honesty of that Purpose, and merit still more to conduct our Affairs; and which will undoubtedly be remembered by the honest Freeholders of *England* at a proper Season in their Favour: Our Eyes are upon them: our Confidence is in them, and we wish them good Success in this great Tryal of Integrity and publick Spirit.

I foresee that there will be many who will be loud in their Call for public Justice, and yet be the first to prevent it. Their Avarice will arm their Tongues with Zeal, and a proper present *Disarm* it of its Eloquence. However the Outside of publick Spirit will still be kept on; they will be sure to cry out to the last for Punishment, for severe Punishment; but they will be as sure to find fault with every Expedient proposed for inflicting it. I could name some worthy Patriots, of *many Words*, and *great Weight*, who will act this Farce rarely. It will not be the first time — What is humane Life, but a Masquerade! and what is civil Society, but a mock Alliance between Hypocrisy and Credulity!

Magna & misera Civitas, eodem anno tantas Injurias tantumque pudorem passa, inter Vinios, Fabeos, Icellos, Asiaticos, varia & pudenda sorte agebat; donec succedere Mucianus, & Marcellus, & magis alii homines quam alii mores.

These are the Words of a great *Ancient*, signal for his Wisdom and strong Observations: Had he liv'd now, and written in English, he would have written thus.

Oh London! Oh England! Oh my Country! How great! And yet how miserable! What Reproach, what Calamities, what Ruin hast thou sustain'd? Sustain'd,

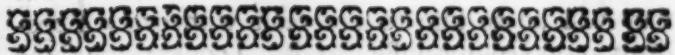
*in the Space of one short Year ; and less than a Year !
Sustain'd from the Dregs of humane Kind ! From Fel-
lows, vile in their Original ; and as to their Spirit,
Slaves ! What opprobrious Delusions, what deadly Re-
volutions hast thou suffer'd to be brought upon thee, by
the ignoble Names, and servile Hands of B——r,
L——b——, H——b——, and the like Scum of the
Vulgar ! And after all this, art Thou not yet weary,
O my Country ! Of thy own Shame ? Not yet satiated
with Devastation and Havock ? And wilt thou yet
again try the old Knavery managed by new Knaves ?*

*You may expect, Sir, to hear from me again next
Week upon this fruitful Subject ; and for the future,
till every Ear is alarm'd with the Villany, and every
Heart detests the Villains, how great soever, that have
been the Cause of our Destruction.*

I am, SIR,

The Lover of my Country,

CATO.



To the Author of the London Journal.

Dec. 10. 1720,

S I R,

TIS worth Observation, that no Experience
or Sufferings can cure the World of its
Credulity. It has been a Bubble from
the Beginning ; nor is it a Bit wiser for
this Discovery, but still runs into old Snares, if they
have but new Names, and often whether they have
or no.

Self-Love beguiles Men into false Hopes, and they
will venture to incur a hundred probable Evils, to
catch one possible Good ; nay, they run frequently
into distracted Pains and Expences to gain Advantages,
which are purely imaginary, and utterly impossible.

Were

Were the Passions properly balanced, Men would act rationally; but by suffering one Passion to get the better of all the rest, they act madly or ridiculously.

Our prevailing Passions in *England*, of late, have been *Hope*, *Avarice*, and *Ambition*, which have had such a headlong Force upon the People, that they are become wretched and poor, by a ravenous Appetite to grow great and rich. Our Fear and Caution were postponed, and by a sanguine Struggle for what we had not, we lost what we had. Could such *Courage* be inspired by Stock-jobbing? A cowardly Science of mean Tricks and Lies!

Every Adventurer in this mighty Lottery, foresaw that many must be Losers, and that was got by one must be lost by another; but every Man *hoped* that Fate would be kinder to him in particular, than to a thousand others; and so this mad *Hope* became general, as are the Calamities which it has produced.

This shews the little Power that Reason and Truth have over the Passions of Men, when they run high. In the late Revolution in the *Alley*, Figures and Demonstration *would* have told them, and the DIRECTORS *could* have told them, that it was all *Phrenzy*; and that they were pursuing gilded Clouds, the Composition of Vapour and a little Sunshine; both fleeting Apparitions! Common Sense could have told them, that Credit is the most uncertain and most fluctuating Thing in the World, especially when it is applied to Stock-Jobbing; that it had long before been exalted higher than it could well stand, even before it was come to twenty above *Par*, and therefore always tottered, and was always tumbling down at every little Accident and Rumour. A Story of a *Spanish Frigate*, or of a few Thieves in the dark *Dens* of the *Highlands*, or the *Sickness* of a foreign Prince, or the *Saying* of a Broker in a Coffee-House; all, or any of these contemptible Causes were able to reduce that *same Credit* into a very slender Figure, and sometimes within her old Bounds: But particularly they might have seen, that it was now mounted to such an outrageous

E

Height,

Height, as all the Silver and Gold in *Europe* could not support ; and therefore when People came in any considerable Number to sell, (and to sell was the whole End of their buying) it would have a dreadful Fall, even to the crushing of the Nation. This has since dolefully happened : Our *Hopes*, which were our Ruin, are gone ; and now we behold nothing but the Face of the Mourner.

But in spite of all this Mischiefe, produced by Credulity, by manifest and ill-grounded Credulity, it is much to be feared that some little Art, and big Promises, would make us repeat it, and grow mad again. This seems evident, not only from the Folly and Feebleness of humane Nature, ever the Prey of Craft, and ever caught with Shadows ; but from our endless Gaping after new Projects, and our Eagerness to run into them. We have been bruised in a Mortar, but we are not wiser ; while one Ruin is yet upon us, we are panting after another, perhaps work'd up by the same Hands, or by other Hands with the same Views.

O the Weakness and Folly of Man ! it is like a Whirlpool, which destroys and drowns not by *Halves*, but when a *Part* is drawn in, the *Whole* follows.

*Surely the Pleasure is as great,
Of being cheated, as to cheat !*

Else Men would not be such *Dupes*, as every where they are ; whoever would catch Mankind, had nothing to do, but to throw out a Bait to their Passions, and infallibly they are his Property. This Secret is well known to corrupt Courts, who flatter or frighten their obeying believing Vassals into all the Excesses of Misery and Obedience. By This, Standing Armies have been maintained ; by This, while Wars have been waged ; and by This, an idle, expensive, absurd, and cruel *Papish Hierarchy* has been supported.

Once more, O wretched Man ! Thou willing Instrument of thy own Bondage and Delusion ; even Mountebanks know this Secret of cajoling thee, and picking thy Pocket ; and worse than Mountebanks, *Stock-jobbers* know it.

When

When a People are undone, it is some Consolation to reflect, that they had no hand in their own Ruin, or did all they could to prevent it, by the best Counsels they could take, or by the bravest Defence they could make. But alas, poor *England*! thou hast not that Consolation. Thou hast not fallen by able Traytors; thou art not the Victim of deep Design, or artful Treason; nor art thou the Price of Victory in the Field; neither art thou out-witted by the subtle Dealers in Mystery and Distinction; nor in this Instance deceived by their false Alarms.

No, we have no such palliating Reflection to reconcile us to our Misery, or to abate its Pangs: To our deathless Shame, we are the Conquest, the Purchase of *Stock-Jobbers*. The *British Lions* crouch to a *Nest of Owls*! Can we survive the Remembrance without Revenge?

But all this is complaining, will some say; and we want Remedies rather than Complaints: To bewail our Calamities, is indeed natural, but to extricate our selves out of them, is necessary. Here are *Two Hundred Millions* of *Imaginary* Property lost, and at least *Twenty Millions* of *Real* Property plundered from the honest and industrious, and given to Sharpers and Pick-pockets: Shall these *Rooks* be suffered to enjoy it? And shall the Bubbles be redressed out of other Mens Estates, no wise chargeable with the Mischief? Or must we prostitute the publick Honour of the Nation to draw in other People (no way concerned) to take the bold Bargains of rash Men and *Dupes* off their Hands? But if none of these Methods are taken, our Cullies must set down with their Loss, or the Traytors be forced to disgorge.

If we make new Schemes, or diversify the old, till Doom's-Day, there will be no paying *Twenty Millions* without *Twenty Millions*, or without what is Equivalent to *Twenty Millions*, which will be the same thing to the Nation as the parting with *Twenty Millions*.

The Payment therefore will either be a real Payment, or a sham Payment; and in this Case,

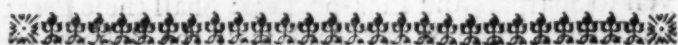
if *caveat emptor*, (let the Buyer look to it) be a good general Rule in the Business of Bargains and Sale, it will be a good Rule here too.

If we have any *State-Chymists*, who have Art enough to make Millions evaporate into Smoak, yet I must beg leave to doubt their Skill at consolidating Smoak into Gold.

I hope I shall not be understood, by what I have said, to oppose an Attempt to redeem us out of our present wretched Condition. On the contrary, I shall be the first to Vote that Man a Statue of Gold, who can strike out an honest and skilful Expedient for our Recovery, which I own is far past my own Skill. I am no Candidate for the Golden Statue.

By all this, I would only caution my Countrymen not to be caught again; let them beware of new *Snares*: As to the Losers, they have not a great deal to expect; and I can say no more to them here than that in Countries where the Plague rages, the Preservation of the *Whole* is the principal Care; the Infected are for the most part left to take Care of themselves; and I never heard it suggested that Nine Millions of People ought to be exposed to the mortal Contagion of that Distemper, to preserve a few Individuals.

I am, Sir, Yours,
C A T O.



To the Author of the London Journal.

S I R,

Dec. 17. 1720.

***** Eware of the first Step, will be allowed
 ***** by all Men, who have any Skill in hu-
 ***** mane Affairs, to be a commendable
 ***** Caution in all Proceedings of Moment.
 ***** In how many Instances do we see, that
 Things which begin plausibly, end tragically? Peo-
 ple have been often enslaved by Princes created by
 themselves for their Protection, and often butchered
 by Armies raised by themselves for their De-
 fence. The late *French King*, whenever he was
 going to shed the Blood of his People, in any wan-
 ton War, tho' undertaken to gratify his Lust of
 Power, or to exalt his own House, never failed to
 let

let them know, in an Edict made on purpose, that it was all for their own Good and Prosperity; that is, they were to suffer Slaughter abroad, and Oppression and Famine at home, purely for their own Advantage and Felicity.

General Propositions are, for the most Part, dangerous, and intended to support Consequences, which at first View, they do not seem to mean and imply. They are, therefore, generally plausible in Appearance, to catch Consent; from which Consent, when it is once got, new Advantages are taken; which were not foreseen, and fresh Articles are added which were not known to be designed.

In the late long War with *France*, what was more desirable, what more plausible than *Peace*? A Blessing so universally understood to be one, that the lowest Vulgar wanted no Words not Persuasions to know its Excellency! And when we were insulted with this Question, *What, will you not treat?* To have said *No*, would have been an Answer so invidious, that scarce any Man durst make it; and yet all wise Men then knew, that to consent to a Treaty at that Time with *France*, considering the Persons and their Interests who were to manage it, was to consent to a Conspiracy against *England* in particular, and to plot against all *Europe* in general: We were stunn'd with the Word *PEACE*, nor could we stand it, tho' we knew, it was hatching *TREASON*. In short, to *Treat*, as soft a Phrase as it was, signified neither more nor less, than to give to old *Lewis* his wicked Will of all *Europe*, and to the *Tories* their *Pretender*.

Take another Instance. In the present *Spanish* War, which, we are assured, wants nothing but a Form to conclude it, we cannot forget the loud Attestations, that were every where given us, *That to declare War was sufficient alone to end the War, and frighten the Spaniards into a Peace*: And who, among us, would not willingly be at the Expence of a Piece of Paper, and of the *Heralds* Lungs, to scare a turbulent and understanding Court, as was that of *Philip*, into Moderation and Quietness? But the Obstinacy of *Spain*, the Length of that War, our
great

great Charge in Men and Money to support it, and the Condition of our Fleet, worn in the Service of our Allies, or eaten by Worms in the *Mediterranean*, are all sufficient Lessons to us, how little we ought to have trusted to such Assurances, or to the Word of those that gave them.

Take a third Instance. Upon the establishing of the present *East-India* Company, it was reasonably urged, that such a Company would be no other than a Confederacy of cunning Fellows against fair and general Trading, by monopolizing to a few, the sole Traffick and Riches of a great Continent. To which it was answered, that there was no such design; but that every Man who would subscribe his Name in their Books, and comply with some easy Conditions, would be frankly admitted to share in their Trade; But this was all Hypocrisy or Lying; for no sooner had the *Projectors*, by such petty Pretences to publick Honesty, got the better of Opposition, and cook'd up their Project, but it was found that their Trade was impracticable to all but themselves: Every Trader was obliged to come into the Joint Stock; and all Attempts since, for the publick Good, have proved ineffectual against so formidable a Society.

We have a fourth Instance from the first Institution of the *South-Sea*. It was at first pretended, that every Proprietor was to have 6 *per Cent.* for his Money, without Trouble or Deductions, and need not engage in the Trade, unless he chose it. This drew in a great Multitude to vouch for the Scheme, and encourage it; but in passing the Bill, it was found that the crafty *Managers* had lopt off one *per Cent.* to be applied, as they pretended, to carry on the Trade of the Company, and all were obliged to join in the Chimerical Affiento; by which they have since pillaged the Proprietors of a Million and a half—*See the vast Advantage of losing by Trade.* A Secret well known to the Directors!

A fifth Instance may be taken from the same *South-Sea*. What a rare Sugar Plumb to the Nation, was a Scheme so finely calculated to pay off the Nation's Debts! What a tempting Bait was here! Even those
who

who saw whither it mischievously tended, and perceived the deceitful Hook under it, could not stand the Scorn and Rebukes of the Many, who swallowed it without seeing it. What fatal Devastation and Poverty it has since produced, by the unparalleled Treachery of the *D—rs*, and some that are worse than they, the miserable People feel much more sensibly than I can express, pierced as they are with the keen Arrows of merciless Villany, and unrelenting Distresses. We have undone ourselves to pay our Debts, and our Debts are not paid. What shall I say? We had once Bread, Money, and publick Faith: But now! What remains to us? I cannot answer.—Our Grief, our Folly, our Losses, our Dishonour, our cruel Usage, are too big for Words.

I have said so much, to prove how wary we ought to be in going into *new Schemes*. We ought at least to know the whole of them before we consent to a Part. It will behove us to have too an Eye to the Quarter from whence they come; whether they be Directors, or their Masters, and Confederates; or Men of fair and upright Characters, whose Souls are *honest*, and their *Hands clean*. As to those, who are known to have promoted the mighty Cheat, and the Ruin of their Country; their Infamy is so glaring, that, since they will not have Modesty and Remorse enough to hold their Tongues, and to forbear meddling with the Concerns of a People beggared by them, we ought to mind no more what they say, than the Judge did the *House-breaker*, who upon his Trial, told his Lordship, that he *would swear the Peace against him, for putting him in fear of his Life*.

The same may be said of those that are fallen in with the Guilty, and *unexpectedly* speak the same Note. We guess at their Motives. The powerful Getters would save themselves, by letting others get as much, and perhaps are glad to divide their Gains to escape Punishment.

If any Man would be the unsuspected and fair Author of a new Project, he can recommend it and himself no better, than by shewing it to be honestly consistent with the Punishment of our *Million*
Knaves,

Knaves, the Blood-suckers of England. A new Scheme, and an Inquisition into the Management of the old one, may both successfully go on at the same time; and they who say they cannot, do but own they are afraid *they should*. Are they conscious to themselves that the *D-----rs* may hope to escape Part of their Punishment, by fathering upon others a great Share of their Guilt, or rather the first Power of being Guilty?

What mean some Men by saying, we ought to extinguish the Fire, before we enquire into the Incendiaries? Are they some of them? Or did they furnish out *Brands* to the rest? Or would they give them time to run away? The Truth is, the House is already burn'd down, many are burn'd to Death, and all are miserably scorch'd: The Flame has in a wanner wasted it self; but those that talk thus, seem eager to revive it, by new Devices to stir the Embers. All we can now do, is to build the House again, if we can; and hang those that fired it, which we are sure we ought. Besides; we have long known who did it, they have been taken in the Fact at Noon day, and every Day. *This thing was not done in a Corner*, not at once, nor by one; the Villany was deliberate, gradual and open.

These Gentlemen do however confess, that the House has been set on fire; which Confession they would doubtless be glad to avoid, if they could: But the Misery is forely felt, and all *Europe* are Witnesses of it. Can they therefore, after an Acknowledgement that the Nation has been burn'd, have the Face to be contriving Ways to delay the Punishment of the Burners? Has Self-love no Share in this? And by the Delay of the Punishment of others, do they not as good as a vow that they tremble for themselves? For my part, I can see no difference in this Case, between delaying it, and frustrating it.

The Expedients for retrieving us, if we can be retrieved, are certainly compatible with Expedients for revenging us; and the latter will facilitate the former. It will give Life to the poor Bankrupt Heart-broken People, if they see that their Destroyers meet due Vengeance, and that they are like to be no more the Prey of daring Parricides.

I am, Sir, your old Friend,

C A T O.